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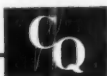
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RIGHT 1961

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Congressional Quiz

WOMEN IN POLITICS

By Congressional Quarterly

Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) once said: "Nature has given women so much power that the law has very wisely given them little." This quiz tests your knowledge of how far women have come politically, at least in the United States, since Johnson's day. Try for four correct answers.

1. Q--What Amendment to the U.S. Constitution confirmed the right of women to vote?

A--The 19th Amendment, ratified in 1920, provides that the right to vote "shall not be denied or abridged....on account of sex." Seven states (Ala., Ga., La., Md., Miss., S.C., Va.) refused to ratify the Amendment.

2. Q--True or false: Before the enactment of the 19th Amendment, nowhere in the United States were women allowed to vote?

A--False. Beginning in 1838, women in Kentucky were allowed to vote in school elections, but not until 1869 did Wyoming, then a territory, grant women the vote on an equal basis with men.

3. Q--The leader of the women's suffrage movement, who was instrumental in mobilizing public opinion in favor of the 19th Amendment, was (a) Carrie Nation; (b) Clara Barton; (c) Susan B. Anthony?

A--(c). Miss Anthony, together with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, formed the National Women Suffrage Association, the members of which were known as the "suffragettes."

4. Q--True or false: Mrs. Miriam A. (Ma) Ferguson of Texas was the first woman to be elected Governor of any state?

A--True. She shared the honor, however, with Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming. Both were inaugurated Governor of their respective states on Nov. 24, 1924.

5. Q--The first woman to hold a Cabinet post was (a) Oveta Culp Hobby; (b) Frances Perkins; (c) Ivy Baker Priest?

A--(b). Mrs. Perkins was appointed Secretary of Labor by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and served from 1933 to 1945.

6. Q--Only minor political parties have as yet nominated women to run for President of the United States. The last time a woman's name officially appeared on a ballot for President was (a) 1888; (b) 1920; (c) 1956?

A--(a). Belva Ann Bennett ran for President in both 1884 and 1888 on the Equal Rights party ticket.

7. Q--True or false: Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R Maine) is the first woman elected to the Senate?

A--False. Mrs. Hattie Caraway of Arkansas was the first woman to be elected (in 1932) to the Senate. But Mrs. Rebecca Latimer Felton of Georgia was the first to sit in the Senate, having served by appointment for 22 hours on Nov. 21-22, 1922 at the age of 87.

8. Q--Mrs. Smith and Sen. Maurine B. Neuberger (D Ore.) are the only two women currently in the Senate. How many women are in the House of Representatives? (a) 6; (b) 17; (c) 22.

A--(b). Reps. Louise Goff Reece (R Tenn.) and Catherine D. Norrell (D Ark.) replaced their deceased husbands in the House during the last term.

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CLOSED CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS MAINTAIN HIGH MARK

Congressional committees held 35 percent of their meetings in executive -- or closed -- session during the first session of the 87th Congress.

A Congressional Quarterly study showed that between the opening of Congress Jan. 3 and adjournment Sept. 27, committees held a total of 3,159 meetings -- 2,050 in open and 1,109 in executive session.

Executive sessions, from which the public is barred, include closed hearings at which witnesses testify (usually on security information) and work periods in which the committee "marks up" legislation or carries on administrative business.

The closed-session score for the House was somewhat higher than for the Senate -- 38 percent as compared to 30 percent. Joint committees scored 29 percent on closed sessions. An earlier CQ study of the period between Jan. 3 and the beginning of the Easter recess, March 31, showed that the Senate tallied a slightly higher closed-session score than the House -- 34 percent as opposed to 33 percent. The score for joint committees during that period was 33 percent. (Weekly Report p.669)

During the session, Senate committees held 1,366 meetings, 419 of which were closed and 947 open to the public. House committees during the same period held 1,702 meetings, 663 in executive session and 1,039 open. Joint committees held 91 meetings, 27 closed and 64 open to the public.

The percentage of executive hearings in 1961 was the same as for the 1960 session (Jan. 6-Sept. 1), and the highest in recent years. The lowest score for a full session -- 30 percent -- was in 1959; the highest score -- 41 percent -- was in 1954. (1960 Almanac p. 697)

Following is a year-by-year breakdown of open and closed hearings since 1953, when Congressional Quarterly began its study:

Year	Total Meetings	Number Closed	Percent Closed
1953	2,640	892	35%
1954	3,002	1,243	41
1955	2,940	1,055	36
1956	3,120	1,130	36
1957	2,517	854	34
1958	3,472	1,167	34
1959	3,152	940	30
1960	2,424	840	35
1961	3,159	1,109	35

Individual Committees

Forty-three committees reported meeting during the session, of which 28 met at least 35 times. Of this group, the House Foreign Affairs Committee had the highest score of executive sessions -- 64 percent. Out of 103 meetings, the Committee met behind closed doors 66 times and in open session 37 times.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee had the second highest

Ground Rules

The tabulations in the chart excluded: meetings when Congress was not in regular session; meetings outside of Washington, D.C.; meetings of conference committees to reconcile conflicting Senate and House versions of bills; informal meetings without official status; meetings of the House Rules Committee to consider sending legislation to the floor (but Rules Committee meetings for other purposes were included); meetings of the House Appropriations Committee.

Open meetings followed by closed meetings were counted twice -- once in each category. Joint meetings of two separate committees were counted twice -- once for each committee. Morning and afternoon sessions of the same committee were counted only once if the committee covered the same subject in both sessions, and subcommittees of the same parent committee meeting simultaneously were counted separately.

closed-meeting scores for the session -- 61 percent each. The Senate group met 129 times, 79 in closed session and 50 in open session. The Ways and Means Committee held 135 sessions, 83 of them closed and 52 open.

Two committees during the January-September period held more than 200 meetings: Senate Appropriations -- 209 -- 48 of which were closed; House Education and Labor -- 219 -- 108 of which were closed.

Congressional Quarterly's tabulations are based on information appearing in the Daily Digest section of the Congressional Record, the official journal of Congressional proceedings, and from the committees themselves (see box for ground rules). Section 221 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 states: "The Joint Committee is authorized and directed to provide for printing in the Daily Record (the Daily Digest of the Congressional Record)...a list of Congressional committee hearings and meetings, the place of meeting and the subject matter; and to cause a brief resumé of Congressional activities for the previous day to be incorporated in the Record."

In practice, however, the provision is often ignored. The House Appropriations Committee, for example, traditionally holds all of its meetings in executive session and reports none. CQ excluded the House Appropriations Committee from its tabulations. The full Committee and its 15 subcommittees meet in executive session because Chairman Clarence Cannon (D Mo.) believes they get more work done and make better use of the limited office space. Most of the other committees report their meetings for publication in the Record, but a few fail to report executive sessions.

(Continued on page 1963)

OPEN AND CLOSED CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS

35 Percent of Committee Meetings Held in Executive Session

	1959 (Jan. 7 - Sept. 15)				1960 (Jan. 6 - Sept. 1)				1961 (Jan. 3 - Sept. 27)			
	OPEN	CLOSED	TOTAL	PERCENT CLOSED	OPEN	CLOSED	TOTAL	PERCENT CLOSED	OPEN	CLOSED	TOTAL	PERCENT CLOSED
Senate Committees												
Aeronautics and Space Sciences	18	11	29	38%	5	9	14	64%	10	8	18	44%
Agriculture and Forestry	24	21	45	47	19	15	34	44	36	21	57	36
Appropriations	131	51	182	28	141	49	190	26	161	48	209	22
Armed Services	33	44	77	57	26	27	53	51	42	48	90	53
Banking and Currency	54	15	69	22	35	11	46	24	48	17	65	26
Commerce	93	27	120	23	93	24	117	20	141	21	162	12
District of Columbia	38	11	49	22	28	8	36	22	36	8	44	18
Finance	25	27	52	52	15	33	48	69	29	28	57	49
Foreign Relations	50	74	124	60	26	46	72	64	50	79	129	61
Government Operations	28	11	39	28	21	12	33	36	49	4	53	7
Interior and Insular Affairs	46	25	71	35	38	22	60	37	58	26	84	30
Judiciary	157	32	189	17	72	18	90	20	147	31	178	17
Labor and Public Welfare	91	36	127	28	24	21	45	47	56	35	91	38
Post Office and Civil Service	25	10	35	29	7	6	13	46	21	13	34	38
Public Works	21	13	34	38	13	12	25	48	16	8	24	33
Rules and Administration	5	19	24	79	11	9	20	45	9	21	30	70
Select Natural Water Resources	4	1	5	20	3	5	8	62	0	1	1	100
Select Small Business	18	1	19	5	16	1	17	6	25	1	26	3
Select Labor-Management	56	4	60	7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Special Aging	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	13	1	14	7
TOTAL	917	433	1,350	32%	593	328	921	36%	947	419	1,366	30%
House Committees												
Agriculture	110	39	149	26%	72	44	116	38%	69	62	131	47%
Armed Services	120	31	151	21	75	48	123	39	69	40	109	36
Banking and Currency	48	14	62	23	38	18	56	32	31	19	50	38
Commerce	128	20	148	14	103	20	123	16	96	17	113	15
District of Columbia	39	7	46	15	32	11	43	26	34	28	62	45
Education and Labor	83	23	106	22	73	29	102	28	111	108	219	49
Foreign Affairs	32	86	118	73	26	64	90	71	37	66	103	64
Government Operations	61	11	72	15	45	21	66	32	46	27	73	36
House Administration	9	11	20	55	3	5	8	62	5	17	22	77
Interior and Insular Affairs	131	15	146	10	110	22	132	17	124	23	147	15
Judiciary	111	61	172	35	74	47	121	39	87	60	147	40
Merchant Marine and Fisheries	75	13	88	15	58	27	85	32	63	22	85	25
Post Office and Civil Service	60	12	72	17	64	26	90	29	54	41	95	43
Public Works	40	13	53	37	28	20	48	42	34	25	59	42
Rules	15	0	15	0	1	0	1	0	20	2	22	9
Science and Astronautics	80	20	100	20	68	13	81	16	79	10	89	11
Select Small Business	?	?	?	?	11	0	11	0	5	0	5	0
Un-American Activities	?	?	?	?	10	1	11	9	1	5	6	83
Veterans' Affairs	16	4	20	20	38	5	43	12	22	8	30	26
Ways and Means	47	54	101	53	13	57	70	81	52	83	135	61
TOTAL	1,205	434	1,639	26%	942	478	1,420	34%	1,039	663	1,702	38%
Joint Committees												
Atomic Energy	51	59	110	54%	38	26	64	41%	40	20	60	33%
Defense Production	1	2	3	67	--	--	--	--	0	1	1	100
Economic Report	37	5	42	12	9	2	11	18	24	5	29	17
Others	1	7	8	88	2	6	8	75	0	1	1	100
TOTAL	90	73	163	45%	49	34	83	41%	64	27	91	29%
Grand Total	2,212	940	3,152	30%	1,584	840	2,424	35%	2,050	1,109	3,159	35%

Executive Secrecy

The Administration, like Congress, at times has sought to keep its activities from the public, a practice which has brought heavy rebuke. In an earlier story, Congressional Quarterly reviewed criticisms of the Kennedy Administration's press and public information policies. (Weekly Report p. 671) The following is an account of the most recent controversy in this area -- a "debate" between the two national party committee chairmen over the Kennedy Administration's press policies. (For additional information on Government secrecy, see ERR 1961 Vol. 1, No. 24, June 28, "Peacetime Censorship.")

Democratic National Committee Chairman John M. Bailey, in the Oct. 28 edition of *Editor and Publisher*, defended the Kennedy Administration's information policies from attack by his Republican counterpart, Rep. William E. Miller (N.Y.), who had made charges of censorship.

Bailey wrote that the Kennedy Administration had made "solid and significant progress toward greater freedom of information in the Federal Government" and cited several examples in which he said President Kennedy had eased information restrictions originally set by the Eisenhower Administration. One, Bailey said, was a recent order by Mr. Kennedy downgrading secrecy stamps on documents of agencies outside the Defense Department and requiring the declassification of most documents after 12 years. The order would help to "free the flow of information" as well as save the taxpayers "more than a million dollars a year," he said.

Bailey also referred to a Sept. 22 report by the House Government Operations Committee (H Rept 1257), "Availability of Information from Federal Departments and Agencies," as evidence of improved information policies. The report, based on a study by the Special Government Information Subcommittee under the Chairmanship of John E. Moss (D Calif.), said that "for the first time since the Subcommittee entered the fight against

Newswomen Protest Exclusion

Women members of Washington's press corps Nov. 7 protested a policy which they maintained prevented female reporters from full access to news in the Capital, and thus constituted discrimination against them and their editors.

Women's National Press Club President Bonnie Angelo wrote Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru asking him to hold his only Washington press conference Nov. 9 in the State Department auditorium, rather than at a luncheon of the National Press Club, to which men only belong. At these luncheons, which frequently feature important newsmakers, members only are permitted. A limited number of reporters, including news women, are allowed access to the small balcony in the club's auditorium, but are not permitted to ask questions along with the clubmembers below. Miss Angelo said this was discriminatory.

In a statement criticizing the State Department, the Indian Embassy and the men's Press Club, the women's group said "reports of the State Department's valiant fight against discrimination in other areas have a hollow ring to women reporters here. We are appalled that the Embassy of India, representing a country which prides itself on granting equal rights to women, should choose as the only press appearance of the Prime Minister a club which welcomes lobbyists, publicists and assorted other non-journalists but bars accredited reporters who happen to be women."

excessive Government secrecy six years ago, there is a powerful new weapon -- the support of a President who is clearly on record in favor of the greatest flow of Government information." (Weekly Report p. 1729)

In reply, Miller Oct. 27 said his earlier charge that Democrats were "running a censor-huckster operation at the highest levels still stands." He cited as examples of the "operation" an attempt by the Administration to "quash Khrushchev's Berlin dictum handed to the President at Vienna," a 50 percent "slash" in White House press briefings by Press Secretary Pierre Salinger and failure of the President to fulfill his campaign pledge to hold weekly press conferences. Miller also said "the facts on the President's back ailment were suppressed for three weeks and revealed to reporters only when the need to appear in public with crutches forced it out."

The press, as well as Republicans, has drawn attention to the frequency of President Kennedy's news conferences. The President has held 19 news conferences during 48 weeks in office.

During the Nov. 8 news conference, a reporter asked Mr. Kennedy why he was not holding conferences more frequently.

The President said he was "anxious to hold press conferences as often as I believe it to be in the public interest" and that he would not object to holding them "two or three times a week if I thought at the time it was in the public interest." He said that he had held them nearly every week in the past and was "sure" he would again when Congress reconvened, but since most of the current matters dealt with foreign policy, the present schedule seemed to be "the most appropriate." (Weekly Report p. 1843)

Official Register

In the past, the Civil Service Commission has published an Official Register of the United States, an annual which listed all federal officials, their salaries and job titles. However, in 1960, on the recommendation of the Commission itself, Congress cut off funds for the book which cost about \$30,000 to print.

The move was protested at the time and subsequently by several Members of Congress including Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.), and press organizations, including the American Society of Newspaper Editors. (Weekly Report p. 672)

Sen. Javits April 6 introduced a bill (S 1530) directing the Commission to begin printing the book again. The bill was never considered and when the Independent Offices Appropriation bill (HR 7445), which carries funds for the Civil Service Commission, came to the floor of the Senate June 29, Javits offered, and the Senate accepted, an amendment to provide \$30,000 for printing the annual. The amendment was deleted in conference, however, and for the second consecutive year Congress denied funds for the Official Register. (Weekly Report p. 1385)

SAME-STATE SENATORS DISAGREED ON 26% OF ROLL CALLS

How frequently do Senators from the same state vote in agreement on national issues? To answer this question Congressional Quarterly reviewed the 204 Senatorial roll calls taken during the 1st Session of the 87th Congress.

The degree of agreement between Senators of the same party and state in 1961 was comparable to the pattern established in previous years: they agreed as often as 98 percent of the time but in no case did the disagreement go beyond 47 percent.

The greatest diversity within a one-party delegation appeared in the voting records of Frank J. Lausche and Stephen M. Young, both Democrats. In 1961 they took opposing stands on 47 percent of the issues before the Senate; in 1960 they voted against each other 30 percent of the time. Other states characterized by disagreement were: South Carolina, represented by Olin D. Johnston and Strom Thurmond who cast dissimilar votes 39 percent of the time, and Arkansas, represented by J.W. Fulbright and John L. McClellan who voted against each other 36 percent of the time. Of the Republicans, J. Caleb Boggs and John J. Williams of Delaware reached a high in disagreement of 25 percent.

Senators from the same state but of different parties agreed as often as 83 percent and disagreed as often as 72 percent. The average agreement percentage for all the two-party delegations was 47 percent.

High Scorers

Disagreement

Senate delegations that scored highest in "Disagreement" during the 1st Session of the 87th Congress (1961) by taking opposite sides on roll-call votes:

Over-all Scores

Following are the over-all percentages scores for "all Senate" delegations, for "solid Republican" delegations, for "solid Democratic" delegations and for "mixed" delegations (one Republican Senator, one Democratic Senator) for the 85th, 86th, and 87th Congresses:

Disagreement

	87th 1961	86th 1960-1959	85th 1957-58
All Delegations	26%	21%	23%
Solid Republican	15	15	17
Solid Democratic	14	14	15
Mixed	53	36	43

Agreement

	87th 1961	86th 1960-1959	85th 1957-58
All Delegations	74%	79%	77%
Solid Republican	85	85	85
Solid Democratic	86	86	85
Mixed	47	64	57

Ground Rules

DISAGREEMENT SCORE -- Percentage of roll-call votes on which Senators from the same state took opposite sides by voting, announcing their stands, or answering a CQ poll. Roll calls on which one or both Senators failed to take a stand were excluded from computations. Therefore, the percentage base varied from state to state.

AGREEMENT SCORE -- Percentage of roll-call votes on which a state's Senators took the same side by voting, announcing their stands, or answering a CQ Poll.

Solid Republican

Delaware (Boggs-Williams)	25%
Maryland (Beall-Butler)	21
Kentucky (Cooper-Morton)	20
New York (Javits-Keating)	19
Vermont (Aiken-Prouty)	19

Solid Democratic

Ohio (Lausche-Young)	47%
South Carolina (Johnston-Thurmond)	39
Arkansas (Fulbright-McClellan)	36
Louisiana (Ellender-Long)	31

Mixed

Texas (Yarborough (D) - Tower (R))	72%
Utah (Moss (D) - Bennett (R))	71
Arizona (Hayden (D) - Goldwater (R))	70
Indiana (Hartke (D) - Capehart (R))	67

Agreement

Senate Delegations that scored highest in "Agreement" during the 1st Session of the 87th Congress by taking the same side on roll-call votes:

Solid Republican

Nebraska (Curtis-Hruska)	95%
Iowa (Hickenlooper-Miller)	91
South Dakota (Case-Mundt)	91
New Hampshire (Bridges-Cotton)	88

Solid Democratic

Alabama (Hill-Sparkman)	98%
Minnesota (Humphrey-McCarthy)	97
Missouri (Long-Symington)	97
Michigan (Hart-McNamara)	96
North Carolina (Ervin-Jordan)	96

Mixed

New Jersey (Williams (D) - Case (R))	83%
Hawaii (Long (D) - Fong (R))	61
Wisconsin (Proxmire (D) - Wiley (R))	61
Pennsylvania (Clark (D) - Scott (R))	59

How Senators Agreed and Disagreed in 1961 and 1960

1. DISAGREEMENT SCORE, 1961 -- Percentage of roll-call votes in 1961 on which a state's Senators took opposite sides in voting, announcing their stands, or in answering a CQ Poll. Each delegation's score was based on those roll calls -- among the 204 taken in 1961 -- on which both Senators took a position.
2. AGREEMENT SCORE, 1961 -- Percentage of 1961 roll-call votes on which a state's Senators took the same side in voting, announcing their stands, or in answering a CQ Poll.
3. DISAGREEMENT SCORE, 1960 -- Percentage of roll-call votes in 1960 on which a state's Senators took opposite sides in voting, announcing their stands, or in answering a CQ Poll. Each delegation's score was based on those roll calls -- among the 207 taken in 1960 -- on which both Senators took a position.
4. AGREEMENT SCORE, 1960 -- Percentage of 1960 roll-call votes on which a state's Senators took the same side in voting, announcing their stands, or in answering a CQ Poll.

HEADNOTES

*Delegation membership changed in 1960 or 1961. Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, Oregon, Rhode Island and Wyoming have each had changes in Democratic membership since 1960. Iowa had a change in Republican membership. Delaware had a change from Democratic to Republican membership. In Oregon, the 1960 scores are the combined scores of Morse (D) and Neuberger (D) - Lusk (D). In Texas, Tower (R) was eligible for 128 votes in 1961.

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
ALABAMA	2	98	4	96	INDIANA	67	33	45	55	NEBRASKA	5	95	5	95					
Hill					Hartke					Curtis									
Sparkman					Capehart					Hruska									
ALASKA	17	83	17	83	IOWA*	9	91	12	88	NEVADA	12	88	10	90					
Bartlett					Hickenlooper					Bible									
Gruening					Miller					Cannon									
ARIZONA	70	30	40	60	KANSAS	15	85	20	80	NEW HAMPSHIRE	12	88	17	83					
Hayden					Carlson					Bridges									
Goldwater					Schoeppel					Cotton									
ARKANSAS	36	64	27	73	KENTUCKY	20	80	24	76	NEW JERSEY	17	83	18	82					
Fulbright					Cooper					Williams									
McClellan					Morton					Case									
CALIFORNIA	42	58	25	75	LOUISIANA	31	69	19	81	NEW MEXICO	14	86	16	84					
Engle					Ellender					Anderson									
Kuchel					Long					Chavez									
COLORADO	63	37	34	66	MAINE	43	57	20	80	NEW YORK	19	81	7	93					
Carroll					Muskie					Javits									
Allott					Smith					Keating									
CONNECTICUT	46	54	40	60	MARYLAND	21	79	18	82	NORTH CAROLINA	4	96	10	90					
Dodd					Beall					Ervin									
Bush					Butler					Jordan									
DELAWARE*	25	75	29	71	MASSACHUSETTS*	54	46	35	65	NORTH DAKOTA	62	38	54	46					
Boggs					Smith					Burdick									
Williams					Saltonstall					Young									
FLORIDA	22	78	22	78	MICHIGAN	4	96	4	96	OHIO	47	53	30	70					
Holland					Hart					Lausche									
Smathers					McNamara					Young									
GEORGIA	12	88	14	86	MINNESOTA	3	97	4	96	OKLAHOMA	15	85	22	78					
Russell					Humphrey					Kerr									
Talmadge					McCarthy					Manronney									
HAWAII	39	61	38	62	MISSISSIPPI	10	90	4	96	OREGON*	6	94	28	72					
Long					Eastland					Morse									
Fong					Stennis					Neuberger									
IDAHO	63	37	42	58	MISSOURI*	3	97	5	95	PENNSYLVANIA	41	59	28	72					
Church					Long					Clark									
Dworsbak					Symington					Scott									
ILLINOIS	60	40	51	49	MONTANA*	5	95	9	91	RHODE ISLAND*	7	93	13	87					
Douglas					Mansfield					Pastore									
Dirksen					Metcalf					Pell									

Democrats in this type; Republicans in Italics



Around The Capitol

NAM CONVENTION

The National Assn. of Manufacturers Dec. 8 completed its 66th annual Congress of American Industry. Highlight of the three-day meeting was a Dec. 6 address by President Kennedy in which he called for a lowering of American tariffs in a "new and bold" program to meet the Communist economic threat to the West. (Weekly Report p. 1935)

Outgoing NAM President John W. McGovern Dec. 8 applauded what he called a strong trend among the nation's young people toward "individualism and faith in American ideals." He said he hoped they would help to check the "drift toward centralized Government."

Prior to the convention's opening, incoming President, Donald J. Hardenbrook, Dec. 5 predicted that there would be a "modest improvement" in the nation's economy in 1962. Hardenbrook said the annual rate of the gross national product might rise as much as \$20 billion in 1962, from a current level of \$540 billion, and added that it could go as high as \$570 billion if the Federal Government checked its spending and if wage settlements did not exceed the increase in national productivity. He said "complete tax reform" was needed because high tax rates and the "highly progressive structure of the income tax system are holding us back."

The European Common Market was a "potentially new foreign power" that required further study to deter-

House Teller Votes Hide Members' Positions

Once again in 1961, some of the most controversial votes in the House were settled without the voting positions of individual Congressmen being recorded.

In these instances, the device employed was the teller vote -- once used by both chambers -- but now unique to the House.

The teller method requires Members to file down the center aisle of the House between two appointed tellers -- usually one from each party -- permitting an exact count on a motion without revealing the individual stand of a Congressman. Because individual positions are not recorded, teller votes permit individual Members (in the words of House Parliamentarian Lewis Deschler) to be "a little bit more relaxed in their voting".

Congressional Quarterly's 1961 voting studies point up the prevalence of teller voting on many of the divisive issues before the House. Nearly twice as many roll calls were taken in the Senate as in the House in 1961. Yet, the studies show, roughly the same number of roll calls in each chamber were "nonpartisan" (i.e. relatively noncontroversial). It was in the number of controversial roll calls, where partisan or conservative coalition forces came into play, that the House fell far behind the Senate. (See list on next page.)

Part of the explanation lies in the tight floor discipline which cuts down voting and expedites business in the 437-Member House. But an examination of teller votes shows that many crucial votes which went "on the record" in the Senate simply remained off the record in the House.

Although no official count is kept, a CQ count turned up at least 27 major amendments to House legislation which were settled by teller vote in 1961. In five other instances, teller votes were later put to a roll call; on one of these (amending the Juvenile Delinquency bill) the outcome was reversed. (Weekly Report p. 1514)

Among key amendments settled in the House by teller vote in 1961 were: the defeat of the Administration-backed Albert substitute to the Minimum Wage bill; acceptance of the Saund amendment to the Foreign Aid

bill deleting long-term borrowing authority; rejection of the motion forbidding the President to waive the Battle Act's prohibition against aiding Communist countries; rejection of the motion to increase the contingency fund to \$275 million in the Foreign Aid appropriation; rejection of several major amendments to the omnibus Housing bill, including the GOP substitute bill; acceptance of an amendment deleting \$95 million authorization for electrical generating facilities at the Hanford Reactor; and rejection of the Lindsay substitute (to create 59 new judgeships) to the Judgeships bill.

Committee of the Whole Although teller votes may be requested (by 44 Members) for any motion before the House, almost all teller voting occurs under Committee of the Whole House procedure, when roll-call votes may not be taken.

The Committee of the Whole procedure goes back to the period in English history when the Speaker of the House of Commons was regarded as a friendly agent of the King; the Committee of the Whole was devised so that during periods of strained King-Commons relations Members could elect a chairman of their own, and proceed to discuss matters, particularly pertaining to the King's household expenses, without the normal restrictions of a House of Commons session.

As taken over and refined in the House of Representatives, the Committee of the Whole has been used by the House to prepare all measures involving an expenditure or raising a revenue (bills on the Union Calendar) for final passage. The Speaker appoints a Member to act as chairman and then retires from the chair while the bill is debated and amended under the five-minute rule. After the Committee of the Whole has reported an amended bill back to the House, roll calls may be obtained if desired on amendments accepted (but not rejected) by the Committee.

Most of the legislative time of the House is actually now spent in Committee of the Whole. It has proved a friend of the leadership in expediting business and a friend of the Membership in providing a convenient cloak of anonymity on difficult votes.

mine its effects on the U.S. economy, Hardenbrook said.

FARM BUREAU CONVENTION

The American Farm Bureau Federation Dec. 14 concluded its annual convention after adopting a resolution opposing federal restrictions on the production or marketing of any agriculture commodities not currently under control.

The resolution was a reflection of the Bureau's belief, expressed earlier in the four-day convention by AFBF President Charles B. Shuman, that the law of "supply and demand" should control production and prices of farm products. It was in opposition to the position of the Administration that marketing controls are necessary because the nation cannot use all of the agricultural commodities it produces.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman Dec. 12 said that if marketing and production controls were removed "millions of farmers would be forced to quit," and added that he would not permit that to happen until farmers had the opportunity to "find and qualify for other employment." Freeman said the Administration's feed grain program in 1961 had reduced the corn surplus for the first time in nine years and that an alternative Farm Bureau program, while reducing surpluses, would have cost the Federal Government \$168 million more than the existing program and cost the farmers \$1 billion in income.

In a statement released after Freeman's speech, Shuman said Freeman's criticism of the AFBF program was as "fanciful as the Administration's claims for success for its feed grain program."

Shuman said Dec. 11 in a speech to the convention delegates that the "basic fallacy" in the Administration's farm program was the denial of a market price system based on the law of supply and demand. "Government planning invariably fails because decisions on what is to be produced must be made on a political basis -- to please the largest number of voters," Shuman said. The result, he said, was "usually (to) protect rather than eliminate the inefficient."

Sen. Burke B. Hickenlooper (R Iowa) Dec. 13 told the convention that the Administration's policies seem to be "moving us more and more toward a planned economy under bureaucratic control." He said the trend posed a threat to "the competitive, private enterprise system which has given our country its great strength."

President of the American Motors Corp. George W. Romney, Dec. 12 told the convention that the United States could not "sit on our surpluses" while others in the world were starving for lack of food. He said subsidies were helping to price U.S. farm products out of the world market.

TELLER VOTES

The House, under Committee of the Whole procedure, adopted or rejected the following amendments by teller vote in 1961, according to a Congressional Quarterly check (see box on previous page).

HR 4510, the Feed Grains bill, March 9: rejected, 103-165, motion to set corn parity at 75 percent; rejected, 113-138, motion to use five-year average in computing normal acreage yields; rejected, 132-163, motion to strike section 3 regulating Government sale of corn and grain sorghums. (Weekly Report p. 384)

HR 3935, the Minimum Wage bill, March 24: Ayres-Kitchin substitute bill, accepted 206-162 (confirmed by roll call, 216-203); expand agricultural exemptions of Ayres-Kitchin substitute, accepted, 161-133; Administration-supported Albert substitute bill, rejected, 185-186. (Weekly Report p. 520)

S 1, the Depressed Areas bill, March 29: GOP-backed substitute bill, rejected, 139-242 (the privileged motion to recommit S 1 included instructions to report out the same GOP substitute, rejected by roll call, 125-291). (Weekly Report p. 522)

S 912, the Judgeships bill, April 19: create a total of 59 new judgeships, rejected, 99-180. (Weekly Report p. 662)

HR 4614, U.S. Travel Office bill, May 17: require the Commerce Secretary to purchase U.S.-owned foreign currency credits, rejected, 51-61. (Weekly Report p. 838)

S 1852, Military Procurement authorization, May 24: procurement of six additional Polaris submarines, rejected, 58-105. (Weekly Report p. 876)

HR 7445, Independent Agencies appropriation, June 7: add \$5 million to Veterans Administration appropriation, accepted, 116-45. (Weekly Report p. 942)

HR 6028, Omnibus Housing bill, June 22: eliminate 100,000 public housing units, rejected, 141-168; require a minimum standard housing code, rejected, 92-141; require a referendum vote before approving urban renewal projects, rejected, 101-138; forbid discrimination in public housing, rejected, 132-178; GOP substitute to extend existing legislation, rejected, 164-197; reduce maximum mortgage terms for moderate-income housing, rejected, 156-171. (Weekly Report p. 1162)

HR 7576, Hanford Reactor bill, July 13: delete \$95 million authorization for electric generating facilities, accepted, 176-140. (Weekly Report p. 1257)

HR 8302, Military Construction appropriation, July 25: delete funds for transfer of Food and Container Institute to Natick, Mass., accepted, 92-82 (affirmed by roll call, 241-170). (Weekly Report p. 1309)

S 1643, Farm bill, July 27: make various chickens eligible for marketing orders, rejected, 93-97; make lambs eligible for marketing orders, rejected, 59-103. (Weekly Report p. 1340)

HR 8400, Foreign Aid authorization, Aug. 18: Saund amendment deleting long-term borrowing authority, accepted, 197-185; prohibit President from waiving Battle Act prohibition against aiding Communist countries, rejected, 139-139. (Weekly Report p. 1470, 1472)

S 279, Juvenile Delinquency Prevention bill, Aug. 30: limit pilot projects to District of Columbia, accepted, 106-98 (rejected on roll call, 187-217). (Weekly Report p. 1514)

HR 9033, Foreign Aid appropriation, Sept. 5: Ford substitute to Passman amendment increasing military aid to \$1.6 billion, accepted, 164-125 (upheld on roll call, 243-151); increase Development Loan Fund appropriation, rejected, 110-132; increase development grants appropriation, rejected, 131-144; appropriate \$275 million for contingency fund, rejected, 127-152. (Weekly Report p. 1540)

HR 9076, AEC appropriation, Sept. 13: reduce funds for Upper Colorado River Basin transmission lines, rejected, 114-135. (Weekly Report p. 1571)

HR 7500, Peace Corps bill, Sept. 21: require Peace Corps "supergrades" be drawn from "supergrade pool", accepted, 128-118; require loyalty oath, rejected, 76-127. (Weekly Report p. 1615)

TRADE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE -- Joint Economic, Foreign Economic Policy Subcommittee.

CONCLUDED HEARINGS -- On foreign trade. (Weekly Report p. 1936) Highlights of the testimony:

Dr. Warren Hunsberger, economics professor at Johns Hopkins Univ. and author of a study on trade with Japan written for the Subcommittee, Dec. 6 said that the U.S. had lost the business of some Japanese firms because of its textile policies. He said when Japan agreed at a Geneva conference in the summer of 1961 to limit the quantity of textile exports to the U.S. to the 1960 level, it had been told there would later be bilateral negotiations on raising the amount. He said Japan had expected an increase of up to 30 percent but the U.S. had limited it to 6 percent. Hunsberger urged that the U.S. allow Japan to triple its total sales in the U.S. in the 1960s -- from about \$1 billion to \$2.8 billion. (The textile problem will be one of the most difficult for the Administration in getting its bill through Congress. See Weekly Report p. 1347)

Dec. 7 Charles H. Percy, chairman of the board of Bell & Howell Co. and chairman of the 1960 Republican Platform Committee, supported liberal trade policies, saying, "American investors and American workers simply must face the competition that comes from abroad, just as they demand that domestic competition be allowed to do its legitimate work." Paul Porter, former Marshall Plan chief in Europe, supported liberalized trade arrangements but opposed any Administration effort to curtail U.S. foreign investment. Other witnesses supported policies to increase the export capabilities of underdeveloped countries and to make more effective use of the "Food for Peace" program.

Dec. 8 Samuel Pissar, former State Department consultant and author of a study for the Subcommittee concerning trade with the Soviet bloc, said current measures intended to keep strategic materials from the Soviet bloc have lost their effectiveness. He said U.S. policy and that of its allies was "out of step" and "the concept of what is strategic is inadequate." He said the West should move from "narrow concern with export control" to a wider policy of concerted economic initiative.

Dec. 11 A.B. Sparboe, a director of the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., said Congress should give the President more bargaining authority to meet the challenge of the Common Market, but declined all-out support for power to negotiate deep tariff cuts on wide categories of goods rather than on single items. A Representative of the Committee for Economic Development supported the outlines of the President's proposals, but said some kind of escape clause should be maintained, and the American Farm Bureau Federation gave general support but said the Common Market must be prepared to give concessions on American farm goods. A spokesman for the AFL-CIO endorsed across-the-board tariff cutting powers, but urged retention of a modified escape clause and stressed that there should be a "trade adjustment" program to help injured workers and industries. O.R. Strackbein, chairman of the National Committee for an Import-Export Policy and a leading protectionist, argued that increased productivity does not protect American industry from foreign imports and said sufficient tariffs must be maintained to fight unemployment and insure domestic prosperity.

Under Secretary of State George Ball said the U.S. could "compete with anyone and prosper" and must do so if it is to grow. He also said the U.S. would accept no concessions from the European Common Market unless they applied equally to Japan and Latin America.

Dec. 13 W. Willard Wirtz, Under Secretary of Labor, supported the President's program as did Edward Gudem, Under Secretary of Commerce, the next day.

HOUSE DEMOCRATS

Rep. Howard W. Smith (D Va.) Dec. 19 refused to endorse the candidacy of Rep. Richard Bolling (D Mo.) for House Majority Leader, in a "courteous" letter replying to Bolling's request for such support. Smith had previously announced his support of Rep. Carl Albert (D Okla.) for the post.

While support by Smith, chairman of the House Rules Committee, would have been significant, some of Bolling's supporters interpret Smith's refusal as an asset, because liberal Members would find it difficult to go along with Smith's candidate.

The election of the Majority Leader is tentatively set for Jan. 10, the day Congress convenes. On Jan. 9, the House Democrats will meet in caucus to select their candidate for Speaker to succeed the late Sam Rayburn (D Texas). Majority Leader John W. McCormack (D Mass.) is considered assured of that post. Rep. Albert Rains (D Ala.) has said he might run against McCormack, in addition to Bolling and Carl Albert. Also at stake, in addition to the Speakership, will be the posts of Majority Leader and Assistant Majority Leader (whip).

PRIVATE SCHOOL AID

The National Catholic Welfare Conference Dec. 14 issued a study saying that federal aid to private schools was valid on both legal and policy grounds. The study followed a Nov. 17 statement by the Catholic bishops opposing any general federal aid to education that did not include funds for parochial and other private schools. (Weekly Report p. 1876)

Legally, the brief said, "There is no constitutional bar to aid to education in church-related schools in a degree proportionate to the value of the public function it performs. Such aid to the secular function may take the form of matching grants or long-term loans to institutions, or of scholarships, tuition payments or tax benefits."

In a legal brief issued March 28, the Administration had argued that any private school aid, to meet constitutional requirements, would have to be limited to a few special purposes closely related to the national interest. It ruled out as unconstitutional "across-the-board" loans or grants to church-related schools, and held that tuition payments would violate the Constitution. Accordingly, the Administration later gave tacit support to an amendment to the National Defense Education Act to long-term loans to private schools for the construction of classrooms in which science, mathematics, foreign languages and physical fitness were taught. (The NDEA amendments were not passed.)

The Catholic study did not argue for aid to the religious purposes of private schools, but said it would be feasible, through "the art of accounting," to draw a dividing line between costs attributable to the secular

(Continued on next page)

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS

Recent statements by President Kennedy (for previous statements see p. 1941):

Nov. 23 -- White House announcement that Raymond F. Farrell would succeed Joseph M. Swing as Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Jan. 1, 1962.

Nov. 23 -- Announcement of recess appointment of Bernard L. Boutin as head of the General Services Administration to succeed John L. Moore, who resigned effective Nov. 25, 1961.

Dec. 5 -- Executive Order establishing Presidential "E" Awards for contributions by labor and industry to the U.S. Export Expansion Program with accompanying statement asking for the "utmost efforts toward producing and selling in the world market".

Dec. 7 -- Remarks to the Young Democrats convention in Miami, Fla.

Dec. 7 -- Proclamation establishing and revising annual immigration quotas for Camaroon, Nigeria, Kuwait, and Syria.

Dec. 8 -- Message to the Government and people of Tanganyika on the occasion of their independence.

Dec. 9 -- Announcement of appointment of Seymour Janow of New York as Assistant Administrator for the Far East in AID.

Dec. 9 -- Proclamation of the week of Dec. 10-17, 1961 as Human Rights Week, 1961.

Dec. 11 -- Letter to John B. Connally accepting with "great regret" his resignation as Secretary of Navy, effective Dec. 20.

Dec. 11 -- Remarks to a delegation of women assigned to missions of the United Nations.

Dec. 11 -- White House announcement that the emergency board appointed by the President Nov. 10 to investigate a dispute between Pan American World Airways and the Air Line Pilots Assn. had submitted its report and recommendations.

Dec. 12 -- Executive Order setting forth the basis for choosing recipients of the President's award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service.

Dec. 12 -- Announcement of recess appointment of Neil E. Harlan as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Financial Management.

Dec. 12 -- Remarks at the swearing-in ceremonies of Chester Bowles as the President's Special Representative and Adviser on African, Asian, and Latin American Affairs.

Dec. 13 -- Announcement of appointment of Edwin R. Bayley as Director of Public Affairs in AID.

Dec. 13 -- White House announcement of Presidential appointment of nine additional members to the Committee on Youth Employment established Nov. 15.

Dec. 13 -- Letter to Governor Nelson Rockefeller of N.Y. thanking him for his help as a member of the Civil Defense Committee of the Governors Conference for advice in shaping the program on civil defense to be presented to Congress in 1962.

Dec. 14 -- White House announcement that former President Harry S. Truman had accepted the honorary chairmanship of the U.S. Freedom from Hunger Foundation and a statement by former President Truman asking for widespread support of the Foundation.

Dec. 14 -- White House announcement of a scientific mission to visit Argentina Jan. 8, 1962 to discuss the technical aspects of the control of foot-and-mouth disease with Argentine scientists.

Dec. 14 -- Message to President Ngo Dinh Diem of Vietnam promising a prompt increase in American assistance.

Dec. 14 -- White House release of statement by General James Van Fleet, special consultant to the Defense Department, calling complaints among re-activated Army reservists "insignificant" and morale "extremely high in all units".

Dec. 15 -- Remarks on arrival in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Dec. 16 -- Remarks on arrival in Caracas, Venezuela.

Dec. 16 -- Address at the dedication ceremonies of an agricultural reform project in La Morita, Venezuela. The President said: "The achievement of these two freedoms -- freedom from dictatorship and freedom from the bonds of economic and social injustice is the contribution of our generation to the dream of Bolivar and the work of Roosevelt -- our addition to the historic

aims of the Americas. And we will not rest content until they have been achieved."

Dec. 17 -- Joint communique following talks with President Romulo Betancourt stating the mutual "conviction that far-reaching efforts in the social field in accordance with the spirit of the Alliance for Progress should go hand-in-hand with economic development programs."

Dec. 17 -- Address at state dinner in Bogota, Colombia, during which the President said: "We in the U.S. have made many mistakes in our relations with the other American republics. We have not always understood the magnitude of your problems or accepted our share of responsibility for the welfare of the Hemisphere. But we have long dedicated the energy and will of the U.S. to an untiring pursuit of that welfare and I am here to reaffirm that dedication." Of the Latin American industrialists and land owners he said: unless they were willing to contribute greatly to improving the welfare of the people "then that leadership will be taken from them and the heritage of centuries of Western civilization will be consumed in a few months of violence."

Capitol Briefs

NATIONAL ECONOMY -- Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges Dec. 19 issued a report which showed advances in the economy in November: sales of durable goods rose 3 percent, new orders at factories 1 percent; annual income rate increased by \$3.8 billion for a record of \$429 billion; corporate profits reached an annual rate of \$47 billion in the third quarter. Hodges said advances would continue in the next few months.

PRESIDENT'S FATHER -- The President's father, Joseph P. Kennedy, 73, Dec. 19 suffered a stroke in Palm Beach on a golf course. President Kennedy flew to his bedside, cancelled his Dec. 20 press conference, but went ahead with his scheduled Dec. 21 meeting with British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in Bermuda.

SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON (D Wash.), 48, Dec. 16 married Helen Eugenia Hardin, 28, of Albuquerque. Mrs. Jackson had been employed in the office of Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D N.M.).

AFL-CIO -- David L. Cole, a New Jersey labor arbitrator, Dec. 14 was selected umpire to settle inter-union disputes under the new AFL-CIO plan to handle jurisdictional disputes. Cole was picked by AFL-CIO President George Meany and ratified by the union's 29-man executive council. (Weekly Report p. 1953)

WOMEN'S STATUS -- President Kennedy Dec. 14 established a Commission on the Status of Women. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was named chairman and Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson vice chairman. The President said he expected the commission to report by Oct. 1, 1963 on what remained to be done to "demolish prejudices and outmoded customs."

OPERA -- Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg Dec. 14 awarded Metropolitan Opera musicians a \$20-a-week pay increase to be spread over three years. He also called for federal subsidies for the performing arts. The award was binding. (Weekly Report p. 1531)

Continued from page 1968

aspects of education and those attributable to religious aspects. It conceded that there would be possible indirect benefits to religious institutions through aid limited to the secular aspects of education, but said this was not forbidden by the First Amendment, "because important national interests in education are at stake."

The study pointed out that in 1960 there were enrolled in Catholic elementary and secondary schools about 5.3 million children, about 12.6 percent of the total school population, in 10,662 schools in all 50 states. It said that, since in the school years 1957 and 1958 the average expenditure per public school pupil was \$314.14, Catholic schools teaching 5.3 million students in 1960 absorbed what would otherwise have been an expense for all taxpayers "in the order of magnitude of \$1.8 billion." (For further background on the issue of aid to private schools, see Weekly Report p. 392)



CURRENT DISTRICTS



NEW DISTRICTS



ENDING 12 months of protracted stalemate, a special session of the Minnesota Legislature Dec. 19 approved a compromise redistricting plan which observers believe may well result in an equal 4-4 split between the parties in the state's Congressional delegation. The current balance is six Republicans, three Democrats.

The Legislature, in its regular 1961 session and again in a special session which ended June 8, was unable to agree on a bill redistricting the state from nine to eight Congressional districts in accordance with the 1960 Census apportionment. Minnesota's population grew by 431,381 or 14.5 percent between 1950 (2,892,483) and 1960 (3,413,864). The increase was not enough, in light of a national population increase of 18.5 percent, to prevent a one-seat loss. (Weekly Report p. 1041)

Action in Earlier Sessions

In both the regular and special legislature sessions, differing House and Senate redistricting bills were approved in the respective chambers and sent to a Senate-House conference committee that could reach no compromise solution.

The bill passed by the Conservative party-controlled Senate had the backing of Gov. Elmer L. Andersen (R) and the state's Republican party. The Senate bill placed Reps. Ancher Nelsen (R 2nd District - South Central) and Fred Marshall (Democratic Farmer-Labor 6th District - Central) in a new district which would be more favorable to Nelsen than to Marshall because Nelsen would retain more counties of his current district. The Senate bill also rearranged the 3rd and 5th Districts in Hennepin and Anoka Counties (Minneapolis) to give the two Republican incumbents, Reps. Clark MacGregor and Walter H. Judd, maximum chances of re-election.

The Liberal party-controlled House, on the other hand, passed a bill which had strong backing from the state's Democratic Farmer-Labor party. The House bill placed two incumbent Republican Representatives, Nelsen and H. Carl Andersen (7th District - Southwest) in the same district, assuring the defeat of at least one GOP Congressman. The DFL bill also divided Hennepin and Anoka Counties (Minneapolis) into a Northern, predominantly Democratic district and a Southern, principally Republican district. The effect would be to place MacGregor in a predominantly Democratic area and probably cause his defeat.

MINNESOTA CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

CURRENT DISTRICTS

DISTRICT NUMBER	INCUMBENT	POPULATION
1	Albert H. Quie (R)	376,573
2	Ancher Nelsen (R)	374,160
3	Clark MacGregor (R)	697,572
4	Joseph E. Karth (D)	422,525
5	Walter H. Judd (R)	310,579
6	Fred Marshall (D)	332,823
7	H. Carl Andersen (R)	300,762
8	John A. Blatnik (D)	332,795
9	Odin Langen (R)	266,075

* Based on final official 1960 Census reports.

† Based on the official vote received by Democratic, Farmer-Labor and Republican party candidates within the area of the new districts.

NEW DISTRICTS

DISTRICT NUMBER	RESIDENT INCUMBENT	POPULATION*	VARIATION FROM AVERAGE	1960 CONGRESS VOTE†	
				DFL	GOP
1	Quie (R)	438,835	+ 2.8%	42.5%	57.5%
2	Nelsen (R)	375,475	-12.0	39.9	60.1
3	MacGregor (R)	445,898	+ 4.5	41.6	58.4
4	Karth (D)	474,957	+11.3	59.8	40.2
5	Judd (R)	482,872	+13.2	46.6	53.4
6	Marshall (D)	420,235	- 1.5	54.0	46.0
7	Andersen (R)	377,675	-11.5	49.6	50.4
8	Blatnik (D)	397,917	- 6.8	67.6	32.4

NEW STATE AVERAGE 426,733

Final Negotiations

Despite the failure of the first two Legislature sessions, strong pressure continued for a compromise solution. Sentiment was strong against allowing an at-large election such as the state experienced in 1932 after failing to redistrict following the 1930 Census. Rep. Odin Langen (R 9th District - Northwest) warned that under an at-large election "some areas of the state would be over-represented; much valuable seniority might be lost; a great deal of time and money would be wasted in a long, costly and confusing campaign; and voters will be expected to wade through an endlessly long list of candidates."

Leaders of both Liberal and Conservative factions of the Legislature caucused informally Aug. 31 at the state fair and decided to set up small groups, actually sub-committees of the regular redistricting committees of each house, to discuss possible compromise. Gov. Andersen indicated he would call a special session if previous agreement could be reached on a compromise bill.

Final agreement between the two legislative committees did not come until late on the night of Dec. 2. In the final hours of negotiations House Liberals made concessions to the Senate Conservatives on the boundaries of rural districts while Conservatives made concessions to the Liberals on the Minneapolis area districts.

Following full Senate Redistricting Committee approval of the compromise Dec. 9, Gov. Andersen called a special Legislature session for Dec. 18. The Senate approved the compromise measure, without amendment, by a 59-3 vote Dec. 18. The measure cleared the House with slight opposition Dec. 19. The Legislature adjourned the same evening and Gov. Andersen signed the bill at 11 a.m. Dec. 20.

Political Line-Up

The political line-up of the current Minnesota Congressional delegation is 6 Republicans, 3 Democrats. The table below shows the postwar history for party strengths in the state's House seats:

Election Year:	'44	'46	'48	'50	'52	'54	'56	'58	'60
DFL elected:	2	1	4	4	4	5	5	4	3
Republicans elected:	7	8	5	5	5	4	4	5	6

The most likely effect of the redistricting will be to erase the current Republican advantage in the delegation and give the Democrats a good chance to carry as many as 5 of the 8 new seats.

Republicans will have two Safe seats -- the new 1st and 2nd. With MacGregor as the candidate, they seem reasonably assured of holding the 3rd. With Judd as their candidate, they will enjoy a slight edge in the new 5th, but if Judd retires that seat will probably go Democratic. Langen in the new 7th District will have no better than a 50-50 chance of defeating a Democratic challenger. Andersen will probably lose to Marshall in the new 6th District. Thus the maximum likely Republican strength for 1962 would be the election of five Congressmen -- Quie (1st District-Southeast), Nelsen (2nd District), MacGregor (3rd District), Judd (5th District) and Langen (7th District). But the defeat of Judd and Langen could easily reduce Republican strength to only three out of the state's eight Congressmen.

Democrats, conversely, can hope in a good year to win as many as five seats -- Karth (4th District-East), the current Judd seat (5th District), the combined Marshall-Andersen District (6th), the current Langen District (7th) and the solidly Democratic Northeast (8th District) seat currently held by Rep. John A. Blatnik (DFL). In a poor year the Democrats might well lose the 5th and 9th Districts, leaving the Republicans with a 5-3 advantage.

The most likely new balance in most years will be four seats for each party. This constitutes a Republican drop of two and a Democratic gain of one from current strengths.

District Characteristics

The 1st District (Southeast), bounded by the Mississippi River on the East, is the state's richest dairy farming area, though general farming (corn, livestock, soybeans, small grains) is also important. Dakota County, in the

Past Vote Percentages Within Borders of New Districts

Further checks on the relative party strengths in the newly-created Minnesota districts are possible through a calculation of the 1960 vote for President (President Kennedy versus then-Vice President Richard M. Nixon) and the 1960 vote for Governor (then-Gov. Orville L. Freeman (DFL) versus Gov. Elmer L. Andersen (R).)

The table below also shows results of two other past races in the four most Doubtful new districts.

The additional races shown are the 1956 Governor race (Freeman versus then-Lt. Gov. Anchor Nelsen (R)) and the 1958 Senate race (Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (DFL) versus then-Sen. Edward J. Thye (R).)

The 1960 vote for Congressional candidates within the borders of all eight new districts is shown on the chart of old and new incumbents, preceding page.

DISTRICT	1960 PRESIDENT		1960 GOVERNOR		1956 GOVERNOR		1958 SENATOR	
	Kennedy (D)	Nixon (R)	Freeman (DFL)	Andersen (R)	Freeman (DFL)	Nelsen (R)	McCarthy (DFL)	Thye (R)
1.	45.0%	55.0%	44.8%	55.2%				
2.	42.0	58.0	38.9	61.1				
3.	46.1	53.9	46.6	53.4	46.8%	53.2%	48.1%	51.9%
4.	57.7	42.3	54.5	45.5				
5.	52.4	47.6	53.2	46.8	53.2	46.8	56.1	43.9
6.	51.1	48.9	47.6	52.4	49.2	50.8	52.3	47.7
7.	49.6	50.4	50.8	49.2	54.1	45.9	52.5	47.5
8.	60.0	40.0	57.6	42.4				

North, includes South St. Paul, a Mississippi River shipping area and location of large stockyards. The Packinghouse Workers (AFL-CIO) may have some political power in the urban areas. Principal cities are Rochester (location of the Mayo Clinic), Austin (location of George A. Hormel & Co., meat-packers), Albert Lea (food, wood, metal processing), Owatonna (selected by the Carnegie Foundation as "the typical American city"), Red Wing (pottery and other products), Winona (limestone quarries), and Faribault (blue cheese). (Incumbent Quie (R); Safe Republican.)

The 2nd District (Southwest) stretches from Carver and Scott Counties, fringe suburban areas to Minneapolis, all the way to the Southwest corner of the state. The rich Minnesota River Valley is located in the Northeastern part of the district. Grain and livestock feeding are important along the Southern tier. Worthington, in Nobles County, is known as the "turkey capital of the world." Dairying is more important in the eastern part of the district. Mankota, in Blue Earth County on the bend of the Minnesota River, is an important trade and distributing center for the area's agricultural output. (Incumbent Nelsen (R); Safe Republican.)

The 3rd District (Suburban areas to Minneapolis) includes all of Anoka County and the section of Hennepin County not actually in Minneapolis. Anoka County has been generally small farm territory with a middle to low income level. It is now becoming increasingly suburbanized and industrialized as Minneapolis-St. Paul expand to the North. Hennepin County contains middle to high income suburban areas (including the "silk stocking" areas around Lake Minnetonka) with rural areas further from the city. (Incumbent MacGregor (R). His 1960 vote figure of 58.4 percent may be inflated because of his especially strong campaign against Rep. Roy Wier (DFL), who ran a weak race. But he is expected to carry the district without difficulty and even with another GOP nominee the district should continue to Lean Republican.)

The 4th District (St. Paul and East) is bounded on

the East by the valley of the St. Croix River and on the West by the Mississippi River which separates St. Paul from its twin city of Minneapolis. St. Paul (population 313,411), known as an Irish Catholic town, has diversified industries and is an important livestock center. The remainder of Ramsey County, in which St. Paul is located, consists of suburban areas. Washington County is characterized by small farming and manufacturing. (Incumbent Karth (DFL); Safe Democratic.)

The 5th District (City of Minneapolis) encompasses the entire city but no surrounding areas. The population is predominantly Swedish Lutheran, though there are significant minority groupings of Poles and other East Europeans. Minneapolis is a large manufacturing center for tractors and other agricultural implements. The area has large flour mills. Major firms include Minneapolis Honeywell Regulator Co., General Mills, Pillsbury Co., Cream of Wheat Corp., Minneapolis Moline Co., and the Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. (Incumbent Judd (R); the 1960 Republican Congressional vote of 53.4 percent may be deceptively high because Democrats had weak candidates and the Republicans strong candidates in both districts then included in Minneapolis. The city normally votes Democratic. A likely 1962 Democratic candidate is State Sen. Donald Fraser (DFL), a former law partner of Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman. In a race between Judd and Fraser, or any other strong Democratic candidate, the odds would be only slightly in Judd's favor. If Judd chose not to run, the district would Lean Democratic.)

The 6th District (West and Central) is almost entirely rural and agricultural. The farm lands are not as prosperous as those in the Southernmost part of the state. Dairying is dominant in the Northern and Northeastern parts of the district, while grains and livestock are more important in the West. There are some lake resorts in Crow Wing County in the far North. Principal cities are Brainerd (a supply center for the resort centers to the North), St. Cloud (known for its colored granite and the

site of several manufacturing plants) and Willmar (division headquarters of the Great Northern Railway). (Incumbents Marshall (DFL) and Andersen (R); past election figures indicate a moderate to heavy Democratic edge. Both Marshall and Andersen are expected to run. Outlook: Leaning Democratic.)

The 7th District (Northwest), a lake-studded district running 278 miles from the Northern tip of Lake of the Woods County on the Canadian border to Pope County in the South, is principally agricultural with the exception of the nationally famous lake resort areas. There are several Indian reservations, including the Red Lake Indian Reservation in Beltrami County. Potatoes, sugar beets and durum wheat (used in making macaroni) are produced in the flat lands along the Red River on the district's Western edge, but drought conditions on the Western plains have tended to reduce income levels in this section in recent years. Dairying is important in the South. Principal cities are Moorhead (on the Red River) and Fergus Falls (a large poultry and dairy produce shipping point). (Incumbent Langen (R); he won narrow victories in 1958 and 1960 against Rep. Coya Knutson (DFL) whose marital troubles doubtless cost her substantial support. Thus, despite the narrow GOP edge shown by the 1960 Congressional vote, the outcome of a race between Langen and a less encumbered Democratic candidate would be very doubtful.)

The 8th District (Northeast) has suffered from severe economic setbacks in recent years. The open face iron ore mines in the Northern section, traditionally suppliers of 70 percent of the nation's iron ore supply, have become largely depleted of high grade ores. This factor, combined with iron ore import competition from Venezuela and Labrador, has caused widespread unemployment. The development of mining for taconite (a hard, ore-bearing rock which can be processed into a rich iron ore concentrate) has relieved unemployment only slightly. Economic conditions have also been unfavorable for the small dairy farms in the southern part of the district. The typically German-Swedish Lutheran ethnic pattern of the state is broken by the concentrations of Central Europeans, Finns and Italians in the mining regions. Principal cities are Duluth (population 106,884, a major inland port for shipment of grains and iron ores) and Hibbing and Virginia (both iron ore cities). (Incumbent Blatnik (DFL); Safe Democratic.)

percent of the vote. Waggonner's chief strength came from the rural parishes surrounding Shreveport. He carried them 22,509 (68.3 percent) to 10,443 (31.7 percent) for Lyons.

Both men campaigned as staunch segregationists and conservatives. Waggonner promised, if elected, to work to "unpack the Rules Committee" and to introduce legislation to make all federal judges elective, to end foreign aid to any Communist country, to set up a Congressional investigation to root out "fellow travelers and other undesirables" from the State Department, to provide for U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations if Communist China wins a seat, and to abolish the Civil Rights Commission.

Born Sept. 7, 1918, Waggonner was raised in the rural atmosphere of Plain Dealing in Bossier Parish. A graduate of Plain Dealing High School, he was graduated from Louisiana Polytechnical Institute (A.B. degree). He was on active duty with the Navy from 1941 to 1945 and in 1951-52. He served as a Bossier Parish deputy sheriff from 1948 to 1951 and since 1955 has been a member of the Bossier Parish school board (president in 1957). In 1960 he was elected a member-at-large of the State Board of Education. A member of the American Legion, Masons and other fraternal groups, Waggonner makes his living as a wholesale marketer of petroleum products.

Waggonner is known in the area as a militant segregationist. He has served as president of the 4th District Citizens Councils, the counterpart of White Citizens Councils in other states. Before the primary campaign he made statements that were interpreted as advocating the use of force to prevent federal marshals from enforcing school desegregation.

In 1960 Waggonner was 4th District campaign manager for the States' Rights (Independent elector) Presidential ticket.

Covering 5,241 square miles of the Northwest corner of Louisiana, the 4th District (population 391,541) leads the state in cotton production, is important in grains, cattle and pine timbering, and is the center of one of the nation's greatest oil and gas producing regions.

Shreveport (population 164,372) is the major city and dominates the political and economic life of the area. The city and its immediate environs cast approximately 55 percent of the district's vote.

TEXAS 13th DISTRICT

State Judge Graham B. Purcell, a moderate "Rayburn-Johnson type" Democrat, and former Wichita Falls Councilman Joe Bailey Meissner, a "Goldwater-type" Republican, led a group of five candidates in the Dec. 16 special election in Texas' 13th Congressional District (Wichita Falls, North Central). Purcell and Meissner thus qualified for a run-off which Gov. Price Daniel (D) must set for early in 1962. The unofficial results, with all but about 120 votes counted:

Purcell (D)	8,935	33.8%
Meissner (R)	6,704	25.4
Jack Hightower (D)	6,030	22.8
Vernon Stewart (D)	2,696	10.2
James Horaney (D)	2,037	7.7

The seat was vacated by the resignation of Rep. Frank Ikard (D) (for background, see Weekly Report p. 1896).

CQ

Political Notes

LOUISIANA 4th DISTRICT

Democrat Joseph D. Waggonner Jr., 43, Dec. 19 was elected Congressman from the Louisiana 4th District, replacing the late Rep. Overton Brooks (D). Waggonner's margin of victory over Republican Charlton Havard Lyons, 67, was the narrowest of any Democratic candidates in the District in the 20th Century. Complete, unofficial returns showed:

Waggonner	33,846	54.5%
Lyons	28,275	45.5

Lyons' chief strength came from the city of Shreveport, which he won 17,832 to 11,337, garnering 61.1



The Week In Congress

Secrecy Official secrecy in Congress is best identified in the number of Congressional Committee hearings that are closed to the public. In the first session of the 87th Congress, committees of the House and Senate held 35 percent of their meetings in executive session. Some of these, of course, were devoted to official committee business or marking up legislation. CQ Fact Sheet also reviews developments in the area of executive department secrecy, with a box on an example of how the Washington press corps itself has restricted full access to information. (Page 1961)

Minnesota Redistricting

Ending a year of protracted deadlock over re-districting, the Minnesota Legislature Dec. 19 approved a plan reducing the state from nine to eight Congressional seats. The net effect of the plan will probably be to change the present delegation balance of 6 Republicans, 3 Democrats to a new balance of 4 Republicans, 4 Democrats -- a loss of two GOP seats combined with a Democratic gain of one seat. Of the three Republican incumbents most threatened -- H. Carl Andersen, Odin Langen and Walter H. Judd -- Andersen is believed the man surest to lose his seat in 1962. For maps, statistics, full descriptions of the new districts, see Page 1970.

Politics

Joseph D. Waggoner Jr. (D) was the victor in the Dec. 19 special House election in the Louisiana 4th District (Northwest-Shreveport), but his margin was the smallest enjoyed by any Democratic nominee in the 20th Century. Republican challenger Charlton Havard Lyons ran a strong race, carrying the city of Shreveport by a vote of 17,832 to 11,337 but losing to Waggoner in the rural parishes surrounding the city by a vote of 22,509 to 10,443. The over-all count: Waggoner 33,846 (54.5 percent), Lyons 28,275 (45.5 percent). Both men campaigned as staunch segregationists and political conservatives. Waggoner, local (White) Citizens Council head, advocated "unpacking" the House Rules Committee and popular election of federal judges. (Page 1972)

Notice

Your 1961 CQ Almanac will be sent to you early in January. But keep your Weekly Reports. They contain much information of lasting value, such as CQ's redistricting reports, selected Fact Sheets, etc. Write to us for extra binders.

Same-State Senators

Senators from the same state, no matter what party, have strong regional incentives to vote the same way on many issues. To what degree do they do so? CQ Fact Sheet examines this year's voting by pairs of Senators -- those of the same parties and those of opposite parties. The voting patterns show a wide variation. (Page 1964)

Around the Capitol

The Foreign Economic Policy Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee concluded its hearings with testimony from both sides of the trade policy question. An economics professor discussed the controversial textile-import problem. Protectionist leader O.R. Strackbein gave his arguments for tariffs to fight unemployment and shore up domestic prosperity. Under Secretary of State George Ball said the U.S. must compete with other nations if it is to grow.... The National Catholic Welfare Conference issued a study saying that federal aid to private schools was valid on both legal and policy grounds. (Page 1968)

Teller Votes

Speaking to union leaders in Florida recently, President Kennedy asked that Members of Congress have "the opportunity to go in the record up or down" on major issues in 1962. Well, as far as the House is concerned, don't count on it. Examination of the 1961 House session shows that once again many of the most controversial votes were settled off the record. This was not a matter of constitutional skulduggery, but of House reliance on the old and honored teller vote, which permits an exact count on a motion without revealing positions of individual Congressmen. Although no official records are kept, a CQ review shows at least 27 major amendments to House legislation which were settled by teller vote in 1961. (Page 1967)

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